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-2-

c. Training and Education of the "Active".

This is to be conducted under the direction of the KC PPR on the following lines:

Suitable persons of undoubted integrity must be selected from among new members. They should be alert, capable, and whole-heartedly in favor of the party and democracy. These people must be used as a means of contacting and recruiting the peasant and worker masses who are still lacking in confidence. "Activists" must have initiative, experience in work among the masses, and the ability to find new openings. Such people must be selected for leadership in political life and all party posts, while ordinary routine workers and idlers should be eliminated from such positions. The practice of selection at present applied by some of the WK PPR (Voivodship committees of the PPR), whereby inclusion in the "Active" is determined simply by the extent of the theoretical knowledge of Communist doctrine, is a mistake and must be discontinued. Henceforth, "Activists" are to be recruited from among those members of the PPR who have achieved the best practical results.

An "Active" with special attainments to its credit must be given added protection by the WK PPR; it must be carded in the special index at the secretariats, with proper evaluation of achievements, and allotted work according to its merits.

When the next training courses in Party schools (in voivodships) are organized, emphasis is to be laid on the following subjects:

- History of the PPR, as compared with the history of all revolutionary and progressive movements in Poland.
- Marxist Theory.
- Problems of present-day Poland, such as nationalization of industry, agricultural reform, the Three-Year State Economic Plan.
- History of the Workers' Movement in Poland and other countries in Europe.
- Discussion of Party Program. First Congress of PPR. Statutes.

Practical training at different centers.

d. Simplification of Organization and Partial Amendment of Internal Organization.

After the January elections a whole series of changes in the personnel of the PPR were effected, mainly in the posts of cell secretaries in district, town, borough, and voivodship committees. The greatest changes were made in the Katowice WK PPR, where all previous party officials who had achieved little or nothing were removed. To facilitate the work in large towns, subdivisions into borough committees were introduced. Each borough committee is divided into cells organized in the larger factories, offices, and areas. KC PPR, with a view to increasing the development of the organization, recommended the further splitting of the larger party cells. In order that their influence may reach all the workers, it has been decided to coordinate the organization of these cells with the number of shifts. PPR cells are also organized in various professions, such as forestry, teaching, law, etc. Special women's sections have also been formed.

In view of the large influx of new members, the KC PPR has given orders for the greatest possible number of members to be recruited, regardless of their present or former political creeds, but within the party itself a strong frame work is to be built up, ideologically sound, well directed, and truly representative of the party and its ideas. (However, see below under Paragraph i.)

e. Propaganda.

The official KC PPR propaganda stresses the fact that there will be no war because the USSR does not want war and all the democratic forces of the world are against it. This propaganda is intended to quiet the fears of those persons who might be uncertain of their fate in the event of war, as such latent fears might have an adverse effect on the influx of recruits into the Party.

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-3-

f. Appointments to Economic Posts.

In February 1947 the KC PPR recommended to the WK PPR that they should intensify the appointment of party members to economic posts in their respective areas. The following were the institutions principally affected:

Cooperatives.

Peasant Cooperatives (Związki Samopomocy Chłopskiej).

Institutions subordinate to the Polish Trade Central (Polska Centrala Handlowa - PCH).

This is to be achieved at the expense of members of other parties in these institutions.

g. Stand with Regard to the Legal Opposition.

According to official instructions issued by the KC PPR, activity of the legal opposition will be tolerated insofar as it does no harm to the interests of "Democratic" Poland, i.e., to her position in the international arena and to her internal stability. The opposition parties must not permit themselves to be used by the Anglo-Saxon powers against Democratic Poland, and activities of the opposition must not be allowed to give any cause for creating hostile relations with other states. (See below under Polish Peasant Party.)

h. Stand with regard to the PPS.

During the referendum and elections, the burden of agitation and propaganda was put by the PPR on the PPS. The PPS now holds the portfolio of Prime Minister and a number of other ministerial offices and, in this way, is calculated to be of equal importance with the PPR in the eyes of the people. Among the masses of the workers, the belief is being fostered that there is no difference between the two parties and that the PPR has no one-party aims. However, while proclaiming a united front, PPR does its utmost to weaken the position of PPS. (See below under PPS - Polska Partja Socjalistyczna.)

i. Fears of Wavering in PPR Ideology.

As a result of intensive recruiting activities, elements of little worth to the Party and foreign to its ideals are seeping into PPR. KC PPR has expressed its fears on this subject as follows:

"Danger threatens us not only from agents of foreign powers and members of the underground organizations, but also from the absorption by the PPR of elements who are strangers to our world outlook, and who look upon our party merely as a means of providing themselves with posts, salaries, allotment of supplies, or other benefits and privileges. Such elements might disrupt the Party altogether and change it into a new BLMR (Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy z Rządem - Non-Party Bloc of Collaboration with the Government) or OZON (Obej Zjednoczenia Narodowego - Bloc of National Unity). This would facilitate the destructive activities of the fascists. Of late, it is chiefly elements such as these, which have flooded the party ranks, that are stirring up mud from the bottom."

j. Plans for the Future.

A special staff is to be organized at the KC PPR, with the task of carrying out the assembling of all parties of the bloc into one united worker party. At present the fusion of the PPR and PPS is opposed by the rank and file of the latter, and PPS leaders are not in a position to offer any adequate resistance to this feeling. The PPR, appreciating the situation, would like to solve this problem by other means, namely, the organizational fusion of the worker parties. The next stage would be (a) to incorporate the SP

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(Stronnictwo Fracy - Labor Party) and (b) to organize a new peasant party. By this means, out of the present bloc one party would be created consisting of three sections: workers, peasants, and working intelligentsia.

k. Control of Production.

Acts of sabotage, inordinate waste of raw materials and tools, and absenteeism are reported from the mines, foundries, and factories. The PPR, desirous of ending such conditions, has called into being "Committees of Three" (Trojki) to supervise production.

l. Attitude towards Amnestied Persons.

Both party representatives and KC PPR instructions have ordered that amnestied persons be treated with reserve. This applies to the rank and file of underground organizations. On the other hand, according to orders issued by the KC PPR concerning leaders of the underground, ruthless extermination is to be the rule in their case.

2. PPS - Polska Partja Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party).

- a. PPS, like PPR, is conducting a strong recruiting drive and setting up new cells in factories, mines, and workshops. Results of this drive are claimed to be better than those of the PPR both in number and quality of members recruited.
- b. Despite official statements to the contrary by the leaders of both parties, collaboration between PPS and PPR is proceeding very badly, since the lower ranks of PPS are against collaboration. Sharp differences between PPS and PPR have been observed in the Railway Workers' Trade Union with regard to the control of the administration. Resolutions against collaboration have been passed by Works Committees at Cieszyn, Bielsk, Ustronie, and in Upper Silesia. Cyrankiewicz, Secretary General of CKW PPS (Central Executive Committee of the PPS), attended a conference with Ochab, First Secretary of WK PPR Katowice, and Sieradski, First Secretary WK PPS, Katowice, during the course of which Cyrankiewicz demanded from Ochab that the PPR should abandon its present methods, as there was a strong feeling of discontent within the PPS ranks, which might result in its disintegration and thus weaken the democratic bloc.

3. SL - Stronnictwo Ludowe (Peasant Party).

It is planned to reconstruct this party by incorporating into it the PSL - Nowe Wyzwolenia (PSL New Liberation) and by dissolving the old PSL. In the Supreme Council of the SL and in the KC PPR it is believed that Wytych and Niecko will be able to attract a section of the peasants to the colors of the SL. The reconstruction of the SL is to be started from Silesia, for the following reasons:

- a. SL has a strong position there from which to start a campaign covering the rest of Poland.
- b. PSL has more influence there than elsewhere.
- c. There is least political education or national consciousness among the local inhabitants.
- d. The activity of the PSL has been reduced in several other districts in which it formerly had a strong influence.

Voivode Zawadzki of Katowice has appointed Arka-Bozek chairman of the SL Voivodship Administration, as he is popular among the peasants in the Opole (Oppeln) area. Korzycki, Secretary General of the SL, was promised the help of the PPR and of the administrative staff by both Voivode Zawadzki and Ochab at the conference held at Katowice on 23 March 1947.

4. PSL - Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish Peasant Party).

The activity of this party is showing signs of weakening. In several districts their offices have been closed and in others the PSL signs have been removed. The great majority of PSL members who were arrested before the elections have

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-5-

now been released. However, the least compromised and those who would be most useful to PSL are still in prison. Many PSL members have been released on condition of co-operation with the UB. Utterances of responsible PPR leaders have made it plain that the offensive against PSL is to be continued. As mentioned above, Silesia is the first area in which PPR will attempt to exterminate PSL. A step in this direction has been made in the Cieszyn district, where former PSL members, together with Wawrzyszczek, Chairman of the District Administration, have gone over to the SL, placing at its disposal the former PSL party offices. They have also issued a proclamation to the peasants to follow their example. Meanwhile, the KC PPR is counting on serious disruption within the PSL ranks as a result of Wycech's and Mlecko's action.

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